

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-02

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15

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----- 042961

R 090323 Z JUN 73
FM USLO PEKING
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 225
INFO WHITE HOUSE
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY SAIGON
AMCONSUL HONG KONG

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 0272

PARIS FOR DR. KISSINGER

E. O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, CH, VN
SUBJ: WIND- UP OF LE DUAN/ PHAM VAN DONG VISIT TO PEKING SHOWS
CONTINUED PRC- DRV DIFFERENCES OVER PARIS AGREEMENT AND
RELATIONS WITH US

REF: PEKING 0244

1. SPEECHES MADE BY PRC AND DRV LEADERS AT WIND- UP OF LE DUAN/
PHAM VAN DONG VISIT TO PEKING (MASS PEKING RALLY AND FORMAL
BANQUET HOSTED BY DRV ON JUNE 7) POINT TO CONTINUED PRC- DRV
DIFFERENCES OVER SIGNIFICANCE OF PARIS AGREEMENT AND ON RELATIONS
WITH THE US. CHINESE POSITION ON AGREEMENT REMAINS THAT IT HAS
ENDED THE WAR AND THAT ALL ITS PROVISIONS MUST BE IMPLEMENTED--
PRESUMABLY BY ALL PARTIES CONCERNED-- WHILE DRV LINE IS MUCH MORE
AMBIGUOUS AND TENDS TO VIEW AGREEMENT AS BUT ONE PHASE IN A
PROLONGED STRUGGLE. ON RELATIONS WITH THE US, THE CHINESE TALK
OF " US WAR OF AGRESSION" IN PAST TENSE AND MAKE NO RPT NO
ACCUSATIONS AGAINST CURRENT US ACTIVITIES INCLUDING THOSE
IN CAMBODIA WHILE DRV SPOKESMEN LAY HEAVY STRESS ON ALLEGED US
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CULPABILITY FOR VIOLATIONS OF AGREEMENT IN VIETNAM AND FOR
ESCALATING THE WAR IN CAMBODIA.

2. MOST NOTEWORTHY SPEECHES WERE MADE BY YEH CHIEN- YING AND LE
DUAN AT MASS RALLY. YEH OBSERVED THAT AS A RESULT OF PARIS
AGREEMENT " THE PEOPLE HAVE WON THE WAR" AND GOES ON TO SAY
THAT BECAUSE THE AGREEMENT NOT ONLY ACCORDS WITH THE NATIONAL
ASPIRATIONS OF THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE BUT REFLECTS THE COMMON
DESIRE OF PEOPLE THE WORLD OVER, ITS THOROUGH IMPLEMENTATION " IS
A VERY SERIOUS MATTER." HE BLAMES ONLY THE " SAIGON ADMINISTRATION " IS
FOR NOT EARNESTLY IMPLEMENTING " MANY PROVISIONS" OF THE
AGREEMENT, AND MAKES NO MENTION OF THE US IN THIS RESPECT.
ON LAOS, HE HOPES THAT THE " POLITICAL CONSULTATIONS NOW UNDER WAY
BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES WILL MAKE EARLY PROGRESS," AND ON
CAMBODIA REFERS TO AN " EXCEEDINGLY GOOD" SITUATION AS REGARDS
SIHANOUK' S FORCES WITH NO REFERENCES AT ALL TO THE US.
ALTHOUGH HE THEN ATTACKS " IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION, INTERFERENCE,
CONTROL AND OPPRESSION" HE DOES NOT LING THIS WITH THE US, AND LATER
REFERS TO " IMPERIALISM AND HEGEMONISM" -- PROBABLY A REFERENE TO
THE USSR.

3. IN CONTRAST, LE DUAN HEAVILY ATTACKS " US IMPERIALISM THE
INTERNATIONAL GENDARME" FROM START TO FINISH, AND WHILE HE
ACKNOWLEDGES THAT THE PARIS AGREEMENT LED TO THE COMPLETE
WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN TROOPS FROM VIETNAM HE ACCUSES
THE US OF ATTEMPTING TO PERPETUATE A POLICY OF NEO- COLONIALISM
IN SOUTH VIETNAM AND OF PERMANENT PARTITION OF VIETNAM VIA THE
" MILITARIST AND FACIST SAIGON CLIQUE." IT IS BOTH THE US AND
SAIGON, HE SAYS, WHICH HAVE " BRAZENLY AND SYSTEMATICALLY VIOLATED
A SERIES OF VERY IMPORTANT PARTS OF THE AGREEMENT." IN LAOS,
HE DECLARES THAT " THE US IMPERIALIST FORCES HAVE NOT STOPPED
SUPPORTING THE RIGHTWING PARTY AND ARE GIVING THEM FREE REINS TO
VIOLATE THE VIENTIANE AGREEMENT," AND IN CAMBODIA HE STATES THAT THE
US " IS ESCALATIG THE WAR AND INTENSIFYING THE BARBAROUS B-52
ATTACHS IN THE LIBERATED ZONE".

4. A MAJOR FEATURE OF LE DUAN' S RALLY SPEECH IS HIS ATTACK ON THE
" SAIGON ADMINISTRATION" AS AN " ODIIOUS LACKEY OF THE US
IMPERIALISTS WITH AN OBDURATE, REACTIONARY AND WAR- LIKE NATURE."
THIS LINE IS OF COURSE INDICATIVE OF EFFORTS HANOI IS NOW MAKING
TO DEPICT PRG AS THE ONLY LEGITIMATE GOVERNMENT OF THE SOUTH
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VIETNAMESE PEOPLE-- A LINE WHICH THE CHINESE ALSO TAKE, ALTHOUGH
LESS
VEHEMENTLY. IT IS PROBABLY ALSO INDICATIVE, HOWEVER, OF ENORMOUS
NORTH VIETNAMESE IRRITATION OVER THE FACT THAT THE PARIS AGREEMENT
HAS LEFT THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE GOVERNMENT INTACT AND IN A POSITION
OF STRENGTH.

5. SPEECHES GIVEN BY LE DUAN AND CHOU EN- LAI AT DRV BANQUET STRESS SINO- VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP AS THE MAJOR THEME. CHOU EN- LAI DOES REFER TO THE " BOUNDEN PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALIST DUTY" OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE TO GIVE THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE " ALL- OUT SUPPORT AND ASSISTANCE IN THEIR STRUGGLE AGAINST US AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION," BUT HE FAILS TO PICK UP A LINE OF LE DUAN' S THAT " US IMPERIALISM" IS THE COMMON ENEMY OF THE VIETNAMESE, LAO, AND CAMBODIAN PEOPLES. APROPOS OF SINO- VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP, BOTH THE CHINESE AND THE VIETNAMESE HAVE SAID THAT IT HAS BEEN SANCTIFIED AND SYMBOLIZED BY A PERSONAL BOND ESTABLISHED BETWEEN MAO TSETUNG AND HO CHI MINH. TO PROVE THE POINT, A PHOTO OF MAO AND HO TOGETHER DURING HO' S VIEIT TO CHINA HAS BEEN DISPLAYED. GIVEN THE EXTENT TO WHIC BOTH SIDES HAVE GONE TO PROCLAIM SINO- VIETNAMESE FRIENDSHIP, WE WONDER IF THIS RELATIONSHIP MIGHT STILL REMAIN MORE SUPERFICIAL THAN REAL.
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